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PROSPECTUS.

Our object, by this publication, is to promote pure religion, sound moral
Christian reforms; the abolition of slaveholding, caste, the rum-traffic, and
kindred crimes—the application of Christian principles to all the relations, du-
ties, business arrangements, and aims of life;—to the individual, the family,
the Church, the State, the Nation—to the work of converting the world to
God, restoring the common brotherhood of man, and rendering Society the
type of heaven. Our text book is the Bible; our standard, the Divine law;
our expediency, obedience; our plan, the Gospel; our trust, the Divine prom-
ises; our panoply, the whole armor of God.

Editors friendly, please copy, or notice.

FOURTH LETTER TO SENATOR SEWARD.

Hon. William H. Seward,

SIR; Having contrasted your elaborate speech in the
Senate with its antecedents, having shown that your pro-
posed measures of pacification would be unacceptable to all
the belligerent parties, Southern and Northern and North-
ern, pro-slavery and Anti-Slavery, intended by you to be
reconciled—having also shown that if those measures
should be, for the time being, accepted, (as I think they
will not be) and that if the seceding States should be in-
duced to come back again, the pacification would be but
superficial, and temporary, “the irrepressible conflict” cer-
tain to be re-opened again, more fiercely than ever, in con-
sequence of your proposed concessions—I now ask your
attention to another alternative, which is naturally sug-
gested by a review of your Speech, though not propounded
by you.

You wish to avoid civil war and preserve peace and
tranquility. For this I do not blame you. I am myself, a
peace man, though believing that nothing but the “effect of
righteousness is peace.” The question to be considered is,

‘IN WHAT WAY CAN PEACE BE SECURED?’

The enforcement of law, and the support of Government,
very evidently, are *not*, in the present exigency, among
your methods of preserving peace. Government and law,
along with justice and liberty, “Republicanism and every
other political name and thing” must, you tell us, give way
to the paramount claims of union and pacification.

But what if your proposed measures of pacification
should fail of being accepted? Or what if, being accepted
they should prove ineffectual and delusive, producing still
more violent agitation and strife?

What, then, what next, is to be done?

You have not yet proposed, as some have, a peaceful
separation of the States. But I cannot think of anything
else which, from your stand-point you could propose, if no
measures of pacification should be devised and accepted, or
if, having been devised and accepted, they should prove in-
effectual, and even stir up fiercer strife.

The question then, which I would suggest, for your con-
sideration, and to the attention of all who may read this
Letter, is this:—

WOULD A SEPARATION OF THE STATES PRODUCE AND SECURE
PEACE, WITHOUT THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY?

I think it would not, and shall presently give you some
of my reasons.

I can conceive that a convention of delegates from all
the States, assembled for the purpose of effecting a peace-
ful separation between the slaveholding and non-slave-
holding States, might possibly agree upon the conditions of

such a separation, though the task it must, be admitted,
would be a very difficult one. The army, the navy, the
military posts, the navy-yards, the armories, the arsenals,
the public property, the Treasury, the indebtedness of the
Government, the national archives, the Federal District
between two slave States, the Capitol, President's House,
and other public buildings, the Mississippi, the Gulf of Mex-
ico, the Territories, the Pacific Coast, the free States of
California and Oregon, severed from the other free States
—the division of these would present difficult and perplex-
ing questions, not readily to be settled. But possibly, the
work might, at length, be accomplished.

And possibly the terms of separation thus arranged
might be ratified by the States, or by the people. Many
and opposite reasons might induce both the members of the
Convention and the people to vote for the separation, on
almost any terms. The slaveholder would vote for it to
strengthen slavery and get rid of the abolitionists. A class
of abolitionists and anti-slavery men, would vote it, expect-
ing thereby to promote abolition, and determined, at all
events, to have no connection with slaveholders. Politicians
might vote for two separate national governments, in
hopes of getting some of the new offices to be created by
them. To our vast army of office-holders and office-seekers,
such a doubling of their chances for office and promotion,
would present strong inducements. The merchant might
vote for it, to establish commercial relations more to his
liking, the Northern protectionist to get a higher tariff,
the Southern economist to secure free trade, the ecclesias-
tic to restore ecclesiastical quiet, the conservatist to get rid
of agitation, the radical to effect a change.

And so, the separation might be effected, and civil war,
if not permanently averted, might be, for the moment,
staved off, even if but for a short period.

BUT WOULD THE SEPARATION SECURE PEACE? You Sir,
assuredly, will not answer this question, in the affirmative.

—You, Mr. Seward—though the failure of your proposed
measures, as I have said, seems to leave you no other al-
ternative—you, Mr. Seward, in the very speech which has
occasioned these Letters, have drawn a frightful picture of
the jealousies, the rivalries, the distractions, the continual-
ly recurring interferences, aggressions, and petty wars
which, in your opinion, would begin to afflict and waste
the States of this Union, whenever they should be separat-
ed from each other. This picture occupies the greater part
of your elaborate speech, and constitutes, almost absolute-
ly, the sum total of its power.—And, notwithstanding the
marked discrepancy between your several speeches, I con-
clude we shall not, very soon, be favored with a speech
from you, proposing a peaceful separation of the States,
and setting forth the conservative and beneficial effects of
that measure.

I agree however, with several editors who have com-
mented on that feature of your speech, that the frightful
picture you have there drawn, if not exaggerated, is not
discriminatingly applied. It is admitted that the effect of
separation, upon the slave States, would be likely to prove
very much as you have described. But it is not generally
apprehended that the same effects would be witnessed
among the free States.

My own belief is, that, in case of a separation between
the free and the slave States, the free States would find no
difficulty in remaining united, among themselves, prosper-
ous in their agriculture, their manufactures, and their com-
merce, enjoying the increasing confidence and respect of
the civilized world. Thus believing, (as I trust the majori-
ty of my fellow-citizens do) I am not under the slightest
temptation to consent to the sacrifice of either justice, liber-
ty, republicanism, or anything else worth retaining, in or-
der to purchase the unity of the States. That unity I only

cherish, as an instrumentality for ‘establishing justice, and
securing the blessings of liberty to the people of the United
States and their posterity’ without exception.

My belief, nevertheless, is, that a separation of the slave-
holding from the non-slaveholding States, would *not* secure
peace, and peaceful relations, and safe intercourse between
the two sections, as two Independent nations, unless (as
some anticipate) that separation should be accompanied
with or soon followed by the abolition of slavery in those
seceding States—an abolition to be, in no way effected but
by the fact or by the imminent impending danger of a ser-
vile war.

My reasons for this belief, are, briefly, these.

I. The political separation of the slave States from the
free will produce no geographical separation between
them. The Mississippi, the Ohio, the Susquehanna, the
Delaware, will continue to run in just the same channels
and through the same region of country that they now do.
The Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic will remain as they
now are, and like the rivers just mentioned, must continue
to be used as they now are. Canals and Rail-Roads, like-
wise, will continue to intersect and connect the country, or
countries, very much as they now do.

II. The people of the two nations will continue to be, as
they now are, of the same language, the same literature,
professedly of the same religion, of the same religious de-
nominations, having the same Bibles, yet differing as much
as they now do on the greatest question of religion and
morals now mooted in the civilized world. These points of
similarity and of dissimilarity, of seeming unity and real
dissension, will continue to operate as they now do, to keep
the points of their difference distinctly and continually be-
fore both the parties. Southern defences of slavery by the
Bible and Northern arguments against slavery by the Bi-
ble, will continue and multiply, as they have done. The
question of morality will not be hushed, by political separ-
ation, opinions will not be less freely uttered, at least at
the North, and Southern consciences, nerves and susceptibili-
ties will not be the less unpleasantly affected by them.

III. If there is to be peace between the two nations,
there must be peaceful and protected intercourse and sojourn,
between the citizens of the two countries. And that pro-
tection and security must be maintained, in striking con-
trast with the *present* condition of affairs at the South.

If there is to be commerce between the two nations,
there must be security for citizens of the one nation trav-
elling, for commercial purposes, in the other nation; as
there is now, for Americans travelling in Europe. And the
mal-treatment of a single Northern Citizen at the South
will be matter of Governmental action, and, without red-
dress, occasion of war.—There must be no seizures of
Northern colored seamen in Southern ports, no espionage
of northern vessels, in search of emigrants to the North, if
there is to be quiet commercial intercourse between the
two nations. Neither must there be lynchings, nor orders
to quit the country, for the indulgence of free speech, nor
for the offense of visiting the South to collect debts, or to
litigate causes in Southern Courts.

IV. If there is to be a separation between the free and
the slave States, then fugitives from Slavery, escaping from
the slave to the free States, must be absolutely free, and
there must be no pursuits of fugitive slaves on free soil.
The mass of Northern citizens will not allow this, nor al-
low their National Government to stipulate by Treaty, for
any allowance or tolerance of anything of the kind.

V. The next question is, whether the slave States would
agree to all this—whether they would provide for the pro-
tection of peaceable Northern citizens at the South—and
whether they would restrain Southern citizens from inva-

sive incursions on the free Soil of the North, in hunting for slaves.

If they would not, then, evidently, there could be no foundation for amicable relations between the two nations, nor would it be possible to carry on commerce between them.

For, the least that could be claimed by Northern citizens would be, that Southern citizens should enjoy no more impunity, when coming North, to enslave men on Northern soil, than Northern citizens should, when going South, as John Brown did, to liberate slaves, on Southern soil.

VI. If it be supposed that Northern merchants, manufacturers, or capitalists, for the sake of peaceful commercial relations with the South, would seek to influence their Government to provide, by Treaty, or by enactments, for the return of fugitive slaves, or for the privilege of pursuing them on Northern soil—or to forbear demanding protection for peaceful Northern citizens, at the South, then it is to be taken for granted that *this proposal opens again the Slavery question for agitation in the Congress of the "United States North."* The struggle between Northern abolitionists and Northern dough-faces, at the ballot box would be opened anew, and carried into Congressional and Presidential elections. The effects of the separation would not be likely to moderate the tone of sentiment and feeling, on either side.

Other considerations might be urged, but these are sufficient to show that the "agitation" so much dreaded, is not likely to be terminated by a "peaceful separation of the States." That agitation is not *thus* to be silenced, nor by any of the pacification measures that have yet been proposed; simply because they cannot annul the connection between moral cause and effect, cannot annihilate human conscience and human sympathy, nor abrogate the moral government of God, nor his Providential control, over nations and communities of men.

Six months ago, Mr. Seward, no arguments could have convinced you and your political associates, that this nation would so soon, if ever, have reached the crisis it has reached, now. None but "a few crazy fanatics" so called, anticipated anything of the kind. Listen to another "fanatical" prediction, if you please. It is this. The agitation of the vexed question of American slavery must go on, until American slavery is abolished. Abolition, and nothing else, abolition, if anything, must restore to this nation, unity and peace.

WILLIAM GOODELL.

339 Pearl street, New York, Feb. 16, 1861.

For the Principia.
WAY-MARKS IN THE MORAL WAR WITH SLAVERY
BY REV. HENRY T. CHEEVER.
NO. XXIV.

Coleridge once said, "There is no absurdity, how glaring so ever, in theology, that has not had, at one time or other, believers and supporters among men of the greatest powers and most cultivated minds." We are reminded of this remark from one of the largest readers and closest observers of man, in turning again to pursue in detail, *Mr. C. Blancher Thompson's book*, in the interest of Slavery, on "*the Nachash origin of the black and mixed races.*" A brief statement of his positions and conclusions, with a passage illuminated here and there, is all we have room to give.

By laborious philological reasoning, from a critical examination of the Hebrew text—of which we can only present the conclusion—the author shows that in the 24th verse of the 1st chapter, of Genesis, a super-brute race called *Naphish Chaigah*, or living creature, was brought forth from the earth, possessing animal life and intellectuality.

By the 26, 27 and 28th verses of the same chapter, it is shown that Adam was afterward created a superior *Naphish Chaigah*, and placed in authority over all former creations, including the super brute race, first called *Naphish Chaigah*, and which, in naming all creatures, Adam called *Nachash*.

After a critical examination of the first five verses of the third chapter, and his own literal translation of them, the author says:

"Here we are informed that a creature did exist, superior in wisdom to all the field animals, and was also endowed with both speech and reason, and that he was in the garden with Adam and Eve, and was esteemed by them, as not only worthy of credit, but also qualified to discern and reveal mysteries; for we are informed in the succeeding verses, that this seductive language so influenced the woman, that she put forth her hand, contrary to the direction which had

been given to Adam by the Elohim, and took of the fruit of the tree and did eat, and gave also to her husband and he did eat.

"It may therefore be inferred, that *Eve*, finding him in the garden with Adam, when she was first made acquainted with her husband, regarded him as wiser than herself; from which circumstance, she was easily seduced by him into the belief that some mistake about the prohibitory command in reference to the tree in controversy."

The 16th, and 17th verses of the second chapter are translated as follows, without regard to the present punctuation of the Hebrews, in order to show the existence of servitude even in the garden of Eden, and before the fall.

"And took Jehovah Elohim the *Adam*, and put him to dwell in the garden of Eden. On account of the servant, even for a guard, therefore Jehovah Elohim put a precept upon the *Adam*, to say, "From all the trees of the garden, eating you may eat; but from the tree of knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat thereof, because in the day you eat thereof dying you shall die."

Our new translator adds that the conduct of the *Nachash*, as related in the third chapter, shows the wisdom and necessity of this precept.

"Jehovah Elohim knowing that the servant *Nachash* would become a willing agent of the evil spirits in seeking the overthrow of Adam's authority as a master and lord of the land, found it necessary to forewarn him by giving him this precept: but the servant knowing this, clandestinely snared Adam through his wife, who had received the precept secondarily through the medium of Adam, and consequently could be more easily persuaded that it was not really a precept from God.

Adam, however, did not by his transgression lose his right of dominion, but he gave his adversary power to dispute his right, and in his contest with his servant he was to eat his bread in the sweat of his face, and experience the bruising of his heel by the insubordination of his servants; this last evil he was to suffer in his posterity."

The curse pronounced upon the *Nachash* is next examined at length. The well-known reasonings of Adam Clarke to prove the *Nachash* to have been the progenitor of the *Ourang Outang*, are quoted in full. The views of that commentator, as to the character and intelligence of the *Nachash*, and the use that was made of him by the Devil in the temptation are concurred in by our author, but not his (Dr. Clarke's) conclusion as to the identity of the *Nachash* creature with the *Ourang Outang*. This is the author's version of the curse.

"Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle and above every beast of the field;" or, to transpose the sentence, "Because thou art above all cattle and above every beast of the field, and hast done this, thou art cursed; on thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat, all the days of thy life;" or, to paraphrase the curse, "thou shalt bow down with thy belly to the ground, and shalt cull thy food from the dust all the days of thy life; and I will also put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; he shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." That is, instead of the domestic peace and friendship that has hitherto existed between you and the woman, enmity will spring up between you and her, and between your children and her children in their domestic relations one with the other; and because of this enmity the woman's seed, will bruise thy head, but thou shalt bruise his heel; or (to put the act of the *Nachash* in the past tense,) because thou hast bruised his heel, in seducing the woman from her innocence and inheritance in the garden of Eden, he shall bruise thy head in subjecting thee to a more degraded service."

"It is quite probable, the author here remarks, "that the *Nachash*, after his transgression and curse, fled from his master and remained in a vagabond state until Noah and his sons gathered of his seed to preserve it in the ark, as it is after the flood that the first mention is made of him by his new name *Cush*."

This, then, is the author's convenient way of slipping the *Nachash* into the ark, without his being enumerated among the eight souls which are said to have been saved alive in the ark. A pair of this accursed *Nachash* race were among those that went in, unto Noah into the ark, two and two of all flesh, wherein is the breath of life.

"Without doubt," says this easy procurer in the interest of slavery,

"Ham's wife, whoever she was, had a *Nachash* servant or female slave, who was a negro, *Cush*, with whom Ham cohabited, and by whom he begat Canaan while yet in the ark.

"Canaan was undoubtedly the eldest of Ham's sons, though enumerated last in the catalogue, and he was evidently

"It is to be noticed that this superior reason is attributed, by the profound author, not to *Satan*, a fallen angel, but to this *Nachash*, or negro! Did he mean to suggest the superior wisdom of the negro, over the race to whom he was subjected?—EDITOR.

born before Noah and his sons left the ark, as he is especially mentioned by the sacred historian when enumerating the sons of Noah who came out of the ark. Gen. ix. 18. "And the sons of Noah that went forth of the ark were Shem, Ham, and Japheth; and Ham is the father of Canaan." From this it would seem that Ham became the father of Canaan while in the ark, and he having violated the law of his race by begetting a mixed offspring after the cleansing of the earth from that curse by the flood, accounts for the contempt he manifested towards his father when he found him uncovered in his tent, as related in the succeeding verses; and it also accounts for the curse pronounced by Noah on that mixed offspring, when he arose from his wine and knew what his younger son had done unto him. Noah evidently did not pronounce this curse arbitrarily in wrath for the contempt his offending son had shown him, but, being inspired by the Spirit of truth, he barely revealed what must necessarily be the destiny of a race begotten by the transgression of a natural law; the mixed races are naturally doomed to servitude with their brethren the *Cushite* race, while they have a being upon the earth, for the reason that the pure blood of Adam, the dominant race, will not associate with them.† Noah did not curse *Cush* to servitude, for the reason that everybody knew that he was a servant by nature and creation; but *Canaan*, by referring to his paternity, might claim to be a master, had it not been put upon the statute record as a law from the Almighty that he was a slave, and consequently all his posterity with him, and all others of like origin. *Cush*, instead of being the son of Ham, was evidently the mother of Canaan, Phut, and Misraim."

And this *Cush*, the *Nachash* mother, stands also, according to our author, for the Negro or Ethiopian race, and that race the lineal descendants of the *Nachash*, who was created a servant for Adam!

To make this square with the scripture genealogy, as given in Genesis and Chronicles, the author proposes to connect the reading of the 18th verse of the 9th chapter of Genesis, so that it will read thus, "And the sons of Noah that went forth out of the ark were Sham, Ham, and Japheth, and Canaan the son of Ham (whom the Ethiopian bare unto him)."

The sixth, seventh, and eighth verses of the tenth chapter should also stand thus, by supplying only a conjunction between Ham and Cush. "The sons of Ham and Cush (the sons which the Ethiopian bare unto him.) Even Canaan, Phut, and Misraim, each the sons of Cush. (Then the sons of Ham by his wife;) Seba, and Havilah, and Sebtah, and Ramah, and Sabtacha, and the sons of Ramah were Sheba and Dedan; and Cush, (the Ethiopian) (also) bare (unto Ham) Nimrod, and he began to be a mighty one in the earth."

This reading makes it apparent that Canaan, Phut and Misraim were born unto Ham of the concubine *Cush*, of the servile *Nachash* race, before he had any children by his lawful wife. Then, still after that, the *Cush* bore to him again Nimrod, "who being expert in the chase, aspired to become the Captain and Prince of his race." He it was that first conceived the idea of subverting the patriarchal government of Noah, and establishing an empire upon the earth, over which he could rule with despotic authority.

"This idea, doubtless, was conceived, because of the known fact, that he not being of the pure seed of Adam, could not legally aspire to the Chief Patriarchy of the government transmitted from Noah.

"This Prince Nimrod attempted to subjugate the whole earth to his control; he built great cities, and founded an empire of the mixed race. Abram was the first who dared to rebel against his authority; being commanded of God, he took to himself as many of the mixed and black races as he needed for servants, and separated himself from the Nimrod Dynasty, which then only extended over the land of Shinar and Chaldaea, and went and dwelt in the land of Canaan, where he maintained the Patriarchal government of Noah, and transmitted the same to his posterity. The empire of Nimrod, however, continued to increase, until, in process of time, God enlarged Japheth, according to the promise made to Noah, and the Nimrod empire was subdued, to become a perpetual desolation.

"Canaan being the first mixture of the seed of Adam, after the flood, with the *Nachash* alias *Cush* race, the curse pronounced upon him by Noah was equally intended for all his compeers of the mixed blood; hence, Nimrod and all his empire, as well as the Egyptians and families of Canaan, were included in the curse: "A servant of servants shall he be to his brethren." And all the white nations descended from Shem and Japheth are included in the blessing pronounced upon them; and are therefore entitled to the ser-

†This strikes us as a very singular statement, in an argument in defence of American Slavery and Slaveholding, which is perpetuated by the constant intermixture of the races! "The pure blood of Adam, the dominant race!" What a burlesque upon "the patriarchal institution" as it now exists in the South!

Notice, further, how the writer makes the Slaveholders, instead of the slaves, the moral successors of Ham, incurring the "curse" for "violating the law of their race!"—EDITOR.

rices of the mixed races by this law, as much as they are entitled to the services of *Nachash* alias *Cush* by creation. Japheth, being the eldest son, received the right to the Political dominion, and Shem received the Ecclesiastical dominion; but in process of time the Ecclesiastical dominion was also to pass to Japheth, and then he would dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan should be his servant, as at the present day."

The convenient and desired inference from those slightly transposed and accommodated readings of scripture, and from all the reasonings of this self-constituted "Daniel come to judgment," in our day, upon the black and mixed races of men, is expressed as follows:

"Since, therefore, we can reasonably and scripturally trace the origin of the negro through the flood, from the creation, separate and apart from the origin of the race of *Adam*, it is no longer necessary for the Christian believer to adhere to such a dogma and paradox of folly, as that the race of *Cush*, the Ethiopians, the jet black curly-headed negroes, with their pug-noses, thick lips, almost calfless legs, and flat feet, are our brethren by consanguinity—the flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bone; or that they are of one blood with us, who were created for the dominion and inheritance of the whole earth, and every living creature that moves upon the face thereof, placed under our dominion and control—the negro, in his creation, most certainly included."

Let no one think this brave conclusion of *Nachashology* by *C. Blancher Thompson*, is ironical or *Pickwickian*. It is seriously meant by the christian (?) sage of *St. Louis*, to turn out of the human family and inheritance all the black and mixed races, as being at best but illegitimate cousins, and to put them in precisely the best relation in which the hewer of wood and drawer of water can stand in to his employer of the pure blood.

We have followed the author carefully and candidly though all his speculations, not because we are converted to them, but in order to let the readers of the *Principia* see upon what grounds the leaders of southern opinion, "the christian believers" there—are for putting the enslavement of the African race, in spite of the Apostolic declaration, *that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth."*

This is virtually, though not technically, the ground on which *Rev. Messrs. Van Dyke, Prentice, and Dr. Palmer* argued more recently, "the duty to conserve and perpetuate the institution of domestic slavery as now existing." The last named of this heroic triad of clerical defenders of the peculiar institution, magnanimously declares:

"Without therefore determining the question of duty for future generations, I simply say, that for us, as now situated, the duty is plain of conserving and transmitting the system of slavery, with the freest scope for its natural development and extension."

The most superficial observer must see that the conflict between the friends and the enemies of slavery, is being rapidly driven and limited to these two points, Is slaveholding right or wrong? And do the Holy Scriptures authorize or forbid it? On these two questions the moral war with slavery now turns. Can the issue of that war be anywise doubtful to any believer in the true God?

Dr. Palmer's Thanksgiving sermon at New Orleans.

DR CHEEVER TO THE CHURCH OF THE PURITANS, NEW YORK.

Read to the church on Sabbath day, Feb. 3, 1861.

[A note from a member of the Church, to the Editor of the *Principia*, communicating a copy of this letter of Dr. Cheever, for publication, states that the *Independent* declines publishing it.]

EDINBURGH, January 10, 1861.

I feel compelled to address a few words to you again, most dearly beloved brethren and friends, my own dear people, at this solemn crisis. Though separated, for the present, in so difficult a position in the warfare to which God has called us, we have great need of each other's counsels and prayers. I do not cease to be anxious for you all, for your personal growth in grace, for your diligence as to the common salvation, and your own part in it, and in all the precious graces and fruits of the Spirit, by which the disciples of Jesus may adorn His doctrine, and commend to others the profession of His love. Oh that He may grant you, unceasingly, that baptism of His Spirit, which alone can make you and keep you faithful to Him, to one another and to the world. It is my earnest prayer that you "may walk worthy of the Lord unto all pleasing, being fruitful in every good work, and increasing in the

knowledge of God," "strengthened with all might, according to His glorious power, unto all patience and long suffering with joyfulness." As I have never shunned, while among you, to declare the whole counsel of God, so now, though absent from you, I may not withhold anything that in my conscience, I feel that I ought to say.

I see that it is becoming more and more difficult for a Church of Christ, in New York, to maintain the position which you have held, and to proclaim the truths which you have proclaimed, as committed to you for this very purpose, by your Divine Redeemer. It is perhaps more perilous now, than even when I was with you, to preach the deliverance of the enslaved and the abolition of slavery as a present Christian obligation and duty. The wrath of cruel and covetous men, and the denunciations of professedly religious men and editors, are evoked against the very idea of abolition, so that it requires no small degree of moral courage to preserve and openly profess your principles, and not to fall from your own steadfastness in this thing.

But you are set for the defence of the Gospel, and as those who have the truth of God on your side, you need not fear, trusting in Him. Cast not away therefore your confidence which hath great recompense of reward. You are not walking in craftiness, nor handling the word of God deceitfully, nor sanctioning its prevalent appalling perversions in defence of slavery, nor concealing, nor avoiding its reprobation of that sin, but by manifestations of the truth, just when it is needed, you are endeavoring to commend yourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God. And you have engaged in this conflict against this reigning and gigantic iniquity, out of love to Christ, and to those for whom he has commanded you to speak and to labour; you have done it for the honor of His name, for the just manifestation of His Gospel, and for the redemption of His cross from the infamy of creating or sanctioning a slaveholding Christianity. You have engaged in it, out of that compassion for those who are in bonds, and at the impulse of that desire for their deliverance, which is not only an instinct of our natural humanity, but a direct command of our Saviour. On the other hand, those who oppose your application of the word of God against slaveholding as sinful, are engaged in the support and sanction of a mighty sin, and a vast system of cruelty and crime, and are laboring to pervert the Gospel itself in defence of it. We see with amazement, eminent Northern preachers of that Gospel, not scrupling to distort the word of God from its indisputable meaning, for this purpose, and applying texts against the effort to abolish slavery, which contain a clear announcement of the wrath of the Almighty, if it be not abolished. The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests of the Juggernaut of slavery, bear rule by their means. Meantime we see that those who are withdrawing from the Union are doing it because, except under the terror of such a measure, they despair of getting the Union pledged for the establishment and perpetuity of slavery, pledged to keep forever in slavery those from whom God has commanded them to break the yoke of this bondage. They look to be invited back by the bribe of such a pledge, inserted in the Constitution. Others we behold praying for the Union, that it might be preserved whole and entire, with the iniquity of slavery as its key-stone, the one condition on which alone it could be kept from tumbling. We see fulfilled the words of *Habakkuk*—"They catch men in their net, and gather them in their drag; therefore they rejoice and are glad. Therefore they sacrifice unto their net, and burn incense unto their drag, because by them their portion is fat, and their meat plenteous." Also the description of *Hosea*, "Ephraim is a merchant, the balances of deceit are in his hand, he loveth to oppress. And Ephraim said: Yet I am become rich, I have found me out substance, in all my labours they shall find none iniquity in me that were sin."

Now between the extortioners of the world, and oppressors in the Church, by pretended sanction of the Gospel, the colored race, of whom it has been pronounced that they have no rights that white men are bound to respect, are become "the flock of the slaughter, whose possessors slay them, and pronounce themselves not guilty, and they that sell them say, Blessed be the name of the Lord, for we are rich, and their own shepherds pity them not," and those who oppose this monstrous wickedness, who direct the

word of God against it, and demand its abolition, are accused, instead of those who commit and sanction such crime, as obnoxious to the wrath of God, and as being the authors of that very disruption of the Union, which to the amazement of a gazing world, has already taken place, and may possibly bring the horrors of civil war along with it.

Amidst all this, we cannot tell, as yet, what God designs. But for yourselves, dear brethren, it is evident that this is of all others, the very time of trial in which you are called upon to be faithful to the Gospel of God, and the cause of the enslaved. And if your enemies rage against you, on that account, so much the more earnestly should you "stand fast in one spirit, with one mind, striving together for the faith of the Gospel, and in nothing terrified by your adversaries, which is to them an evident token of perdition, but to you of salvation, and that of God."

And I pray God that no one among you may be moved by these afflictions, for yourselves know that we are appointed thereunto in such a conflict, so great a crown as that of having been made faithful in this good fight, not being possible without such a cross. It is not strange if I have been greatly anxious lest by any means, the tempter might have tempted you, and our labour be in vain. "But we are comforted over you in all affliction and distress, by the good tidings of your faith and charity, and that ye have good remembrance of us always, desiring greatly to see us, as we also to see you. For now we live, if ye stand fast in the Lord." And, dear faithful brethren and friends, may God keep you faithful to the end.

The importance of your steadfastness is great, for you have engaged in this work, because you have desired to see the abolition of slavery accomplished by peaceful means, in obedience to the commands of God, as a work of true and living piety, by the authority and persuasion of the Gospel, because in order to do this, you knew it was necessary that the followers of Christ should set the example, should proclaim the truth against this sin, as the truth is in Jesus, knowing if the light that is in you be darkness, how great is that darkness! knowing how great a power of infidelity and atheism has been given to Satan, in the sanction of this sin. Your hearts have been filled with anguish, when you have seen professed teachers of the gospel of love, which proclaims "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," and, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them"—affirming that slavery, the intensest form of human oppression and cruelty, was an institution of that gospel. You have seen ministers of that gospel, in one and the same sermon, calling on their hearers never to be slaves, and in the very same breath, commanding them as a christianduty, to make slaves of others, and to defend this as a privilege of their own liberty.

The true gospel being thus perverted, and a false gospel set up for the sanction of such abominations, you have felt that it was an unendurable disgrace if the word of God were silent, and the battle against this gigantic iniquity were left to be fought by mere natural philanthropy. The world has had the promise from God, that when the kingdom of the gospel comes, it will break in pieces the oppressor, and will save the children of the needy. You therefore know that a gospel which refuses to do this, is a false gospel; that a gospel which is perverted by its very preachers, from the liberty and power of doing this, and is made to protect and consecrate the oppression which the word of God denounces, is fatally wanting in the seals of divine authenticity and inspiration for a guilty world, is thrown down as an object of instinctive contempt, beneath the level of natural humanity, and would provoke a world even of angels into infidelity. You are bound therefore to assert the truth of the gospel, and to apply it for the deliverance of those that are oppressed, and for the protection of their children. That gospel which is commanded to be preached against men-stealers; that gospel which commands masters to render unto their servants that which is just and equal, and therefore forbids the holding of them in slavery, since this would be the greatest possible violation of justice and equality, that gospel which, together with the law, forbade the return of fugitives to bondage, and declared them no longer slaves; that gospel which avers that in Christ there is neither bond nor free, nor any respect of persons—is most impiously slandered and perverted by being made the minister of this sin.

The Principia.

NEW-YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1861.

THE SACREDNESS OF SLAVERY.

Many things are esteemed sacred. In America, the most sacred thing is slavery.

The Constitution is held sacred, but not so sacred as slavery. When the two come in contact, it is the Constitution that has to give way. When the Constitution is found to be against slavery, it is the Constitution that is to be "amended."

Law is held sacred, but not so sacred as slavery. When slavery says the word, all the laws protecting free citizens, freedom of locomotion, of speech, of the press, and personal security, give way. When it is proposed to make slavery the defendant in Court, the Court cannot be held. The counsel to be employed against her, (Hubbard or Hoare) are graciously permitted to save their lives, by leaving the State. Law, unless it be slave law, quails, everywhere, before the majesty of slavery.

Liberty is held sacred. But not so sacred as slavery. Where slavery appears, liberty hides her head, and vanishes, of course.

Party ties and political compacts are held sacred. But not so sacred as slavery. When her interests are deemed in peril, party ties and political compacts are dissolved in an instant.

"State Rights" are held sacred, but not so sacred as slavery. They are held inviolable, whenever they are invoked in favor of slavery; but of no validity at all, when interposed against slavery.

The authority of the Federal Government is held sacred, but not so sacred as slavery. When that authority is wielded in favor of slavery, it is held to be without limitations or conditions. When it is but suspected that it is to be thus wielded no longer, or not to the extent of slavery's demands, the authority of the Federal Government disappears, and no right or power of "coercion" remains to it. Every citizen and every State may then cut the cords of allegiance, with impunity.

Federal authority may coerce the State of South Carolina when she rebels against a Tariff, but not when she rebels against the inauguration of a President not nominated and elected by slavery.

The ballot box is held sacred, but not so sacred as slavery. When the ballot box fails to elect the candidates of slavery, the appeal is from the ballot box to the sword.

"Compromises" are held sacred, but not so sacred as slavery. "Compromises" adopted at the dictation of slavery, are, at its dictation, annulled, and, at its dictation, its opponents hasten to adopt them again.

The laws of nature, and of nations, are held sacred. But not so sacred as slavery. At her bidding, those laws become "glittering generalities" "metaphysical abstractions" "fan-faronade of non-sense."

The Bible is held sacred. But not so sacred as slavery. Its decalogue, its golden rule, its law, its gospel, are all revised and set aside, by the Code of Slavery. It annuls marriage, withholds the Bible, enforces labor without wages, and sells the temple of the Holy Ghost as a chattel, and remains a Bible institution still!

Religion is held sacred. But not so sacred as slavery. So long as religion can be perverted to the support of slavery, so long its divine claims are recognized. But no sooner does religion condemn slavery, than its very name is changed to "fanaticism," "heresy," "infidelity," "treason," "rebellion," and all the forces of a pro-slavery church, and a pro-slavery State, are let loose, howling on its track.

Nationality is held sacred. But not so sacred as slavery. When slavery calls for secession, nationality is cast off, as an abhorred thing. Oaths of allegiance, of office, are held sacred. But not so sacred as slavery. When slavery lifts its finger, oaths of allegiance and office are no longer held binding. The citizen and the office holder are absolved from the oath.

The ties of kindred, of consanguinity, of marriage, of parental and filial affection, the precious instincts, affections, and claims of our common humanity, are held sacred, but

not so sacred as slavery. At her bidding, nay, in her presence, these ties are all severed, these claims trampled under foot.

The blood of the Redeemer, the influences of the Holy Spirit, the love of the Great Father of Spirits, are held sacred. But not so sacred as slavery. At her bidding, the purchase of that blood is placed on the auction block. The temples of that Spirit, are made the inmates of the slaveholder's harem, the dear children of the Heavenly Father's love, are transformed to "goods and chattels personal," and herded with the beasts that perish.

The family altar, the nursery, the Sabbath school, the house of prayer, the Christian Ministry, the Church, the assembly of the saints, are held sacred. But not so sacred as slavery. Slavery breaks down the family altar, plunders the nursery, outlaws the Sabbath school, defiles the house of prayer, claims brotherhood in the Church, bribes the Ministry, and whenever convenient, claims Church members and ministers as chattels, sells them at auction, chains them in coffin gangs, deposits the price in bank, and draws checks on the cashier, for fresh investments in human merchandise, or for the support of the American Board of Foreign Missions.

All this is sober fact, and not fiction.

Men—brethren—Christians—fellow citizens—freemen! How much longer shall the abomination be endured!

SLAVERY FOREVER!

To the Editor of the Evening Post:

Permit me to inquire what would be the effect of passing the Crittenden Compromise upon the future formation of free states south of the line proposed. As I understand the proposed compromise, it contemplates amending the constitution to recognize slaves as chattel property. Under that amendment, say the territories are populated by about an equal number of settlers with their slaves and effects from the South, and people from the North with their cattle and other effects. In time the settlers are in number equal to the requirements of the law, and a vote is taken upon a state constitution preparatory to admission as a state into the Union. Upon counting the votes there is found to be a majority in favor of a free state. What I wish to know is, could it come into the Union as a free state? It seems to me it could not.

It seems to me the minority of its citizens, with whatever they have that is recognised as property by the constitution as amended, including slaves, would have a perfect right to remain in the state after the vote, the same as the majority with their property, including cattle. And thus it seems to me the majority who voted for a free state constitution would be deprived of their rights—the rights of the majority—for any state laws passed to compel the owners of slaves to make them free, or leave the state after the vote, would be unconstitutional; therefore the state could not be a free state under the Crittenden Compromise, but it could be made a slave state. Under the operations of that compromise the voting of the free settlers, it seems to me, would be a farce. They could have no rights that would be respected, while the slaveholding settlers, whether a majority or in a minority, have the power in advance guaranteed to them to make it really and in fact a slave state.

In other words, that compromise discriminates wholly in favor of the slaveholders, and establishes slavery for all time, in all the territories present or in future acquired; and though apparently leaving it to the people of those territories to decide whether they will come into the Union as slave or free states, yet in reality so designed that they have not the power really to come in as free states. No matter how large a majority decides the question in favor of a free state, that majority cannot dispossess or drive out, legally, the slaveholding settlers; they with their chattel property, have the right to remain in the state, and are entitled to the protection of the laws of the state just as much as the majority free settlers; and any state law passed to discriminate against the property of the slaveholder would be unconstitutional. Am I correct in this? S. J. F.

Yes. The writer of the above is correct. The operation of the amendment would be to prevent the admission of any more free states. And such was, undoubtedly, its design.

And this is not all. The recognition of slaves, "as property" in the Constitution, would authorize and protect slaveholding in all the states, "any thing in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding," the Federal Constitution being "the supreme law of the land." [See Constitution, Article VI. Sect. 2.]

This result was designed to be effected by the Dred Scott decision, and President Buchanan undertook to carry it into effect, under authority of that decision, in his celebrated *Kansas Message*, in which he declared that "the State of Kansas was as really a Slave State, as South Carolina or Georgia!"

There are those who attempt to set aside the benevolent and eternal precepts of God's Law on this subject, as mere Judaic ceremonies. Whereas, God himself has declared the precepts against men-stealing, to be just as binding now as they ever were, and of just as perpetual and inalienable authority and application, as the precepts against the murderers of fathers and the murderers of mothers.

It is only those who "by feigned words, would make merchandise of you," that dare affirm a gospel sanction for making merchandise of the colored race. It is only those who "separate themselves, sensual, having not the spirit," and who "having men's persons in admiration, because of advantage," believe that gain is godliness, who thus blaspheme the word of God.

Now beloved brethren, may God keep you all, firm and unwavering. Stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and whatever efforts may be made to induce a compromise with the system or the spirit of slavery, be not entangled again in the yoke of bondage. Continue to proclaim God's word against slaveholding as sin, for that is His appointed method in dealing with any iniquity whatever, for which He calls the sinners to repentance.

I see that one of the greatest grievances alleged by the South against the North is just this, that we believe and declare slavery to be sinful. Assuredly this shows where our power for arresting and abolishing this iniquity, lies;—even in the conscience of mankind, set on fire with the word and spirit of the living God. Years ago, if the word of God had been thus applied by His faithful ministers and people, the country would have put away this wickedness for God says, in regard to the very same sin, and the guilt of the false prophets that promised peace in it, and concealed God's truth, "If they had stood in my council, and had caused my people to hear my words, then they should have turned them from their evil way, and from the evil of their doings." But, "from the prophets is profaneness gone forth into all the land." And you can hardly conceive the painful disappointment and astonishment of all classes, in this country, in witnessing the efforts of theologians and professed Christians and Christian ministers so scandalously to pervert the word of God.

Dear brethren, whatever be the present result of your efforts, you will always have cause to thank God that in this conflict, with your loins girt about with truth, taking the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God, you have been enabled to stand against the wiles of the Devil. "I thank God upon every remembrance of you, always in every prayer of mine for you all, making request with joy, for your fellowship in the gospel from the first day until now." May "your love abound yet more and more, in knowledge and in judgment, that ye may approve things that are excellent, that ye may be sincere and without offence till the day of Christ, being filled with the fruits of righteousness, which are by Jesus Christ unto the glory and praise of God." The great and solemn subject to which the minds of all are now turned, should be brought by us continually before God, and pondered in the light of eternity.

May your anxieties and trials in regard to it, be the means of bringing you personally nearer to God, making you feel more deeply the importance of a daily and closer walk with Him, and of entire trust and confidence in Jesus, and may the God of all grace, who hath called us unto eternal glory by Christ Jesus, after that ye have suffered awhile, make you perfect, stablish, strengthen, settle you! To Him be glory and dominion forever and ever, amen.

With most affectionate remembrances to you all, and with earnest prayers that God would keep you all unto His heavenly kingdom, I am dear brethren and friends as ever, your loving Pastor, GEORGE B. CHEEVER.

The Washington Peace Conference.—It is already leaking out, through the cracks of their closed doors, that the Washington Peace Conference promises anything but peace. The best thing which the conferees can do is first to resolve that Congress alone has the power to initiate a treaty of peace; and, secondly, that this conference do now adjourn *sine die*, casting the responsibility of a compromise upon the two houses of Congress. We have had already enough of this irresponsible outside compromise tinkering. The crisis demands action, yea or nay, on the part of Congress. *N. Y. Herald.*

The less "action" the better, in that direction, whether in or out of Congress.

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Such too, was the intent, design, and purport of the Kansas Nebraska bill, as was shown, at the time, by Hon. Israel Washburne of Maine, in a speech in Congress, and he has, once and again, repeated the same on the floor of Congress, and so far as is known, without contradiction, until Senator Douglas took issue with Mr. Buchanan, on that very point. The Breckenridge wing of the Democracy, and all in the party that scouted "Squatter Sovereignty" contemplated the legalization of slavery, throughout the country. The fugitive slave bill is a large stride in that direction.

The same is attempted whenever it is proposed to renew the "nine months" law or to allow the "right of transit" or of travel for slaveholders, with their slaves, which every lawyer knows, establishes a precedent and a principle upon which the right of holding slaves in perpetuity, is easily engrafted, as was done in Georgia, being the only way in which slavery crept into that State. In this City, under the "nine months" law, slaves were held continuously, by the ceremony of taking them across the ferry to Jersey City or Hoboken, once in nine months, and then bringing them directly back again. In some instance the masters became emboldened to hold them, for years, without the ceremony, and some were spirited off, to the South.

COLORED SUFFRAGE VOTE IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

The *Anti-Slavery Standard* gives a table of the votes in the different counties of this State, for and against colored suffrage in 1846 and 1860, from which it deduces the following:

"It will be seen that the aggregate vote for Colored Suffrage in 1860 is greater than that in 1846; by 112,097; the increase being greater, by 26,691, than the whole vote of 1846.

"The negative vote, we are sorry to say, is increased somewhat more than the affirmative, being greater in 1860 than in 1846, by 113,648.

"The majority against Colored Suffrage in 1846 was 138,930; in 1860, 140,481: increase, 1,551.

"The vote of 1860, compared with that of 1846, in the rural portions of the State, indicates a growth of right sentiment, that is quite encouraging. The increase of the anti-colored vote is almost exclusively in the cities and large towns, where prejudice is rampant and grog-shops abound, and large masses of voters are ignorant and degraded."

It is easy to see why so little has been gained in the last fourteen years. There has been a class of colored men whose influence has been exerted to secure the votes of the colored people for "the white man's party"—and for the very statesmen who have been most conspicuous for their contempt of the colored man. This servility has disgusted and alienated many who would otherwise have voted for colored suffrage. The most effective argument against colored suffrage has been that colored voters bestow their votes upon those who are most forward to deride and insult them. The colored people must, themselves, remove this obstacle, if they would obtain equal rights of suffrage. So long as they withhold their votes from their tried friends, to bestow them upon their bitterest and most contemptuous enemies, they must expect to be kept down.

DIFFICULTIES OF MIDDLE GROUND.

The *Brooklyn Times*, a paper unsuspected of abolitionism, has the following:

"No doubt when Dr. Porter wrote his letters to Dr. Bacon, he thought he was doing the South some service. But an indignant South Carolinian writes back to Dr. Porter, assuring him that his 'christian anti-slavery sentiment' is as repulsive as the other Dr.'s 'Abolitionism.'" Quoting the former Dr.'s words, the Southerner adds,

"Here, then, we have the confession that it is only a matter of time, of persons, and of manner. This is the gist of the whole difficulty—ultimate emancipation—the avowed purpose of all parties at the North, no matter what their grades of classification. Mr. Garrison and Dr. Bacon are for a 'religious' war, 'in season and out of season, without forbearance or mercy, without compromise or procrastination.'" This is plain, and we know how to meet it. But Dr. Porter is for cultivating the christian anti-slavery sentiment of the North, and leaving it to time."

In vain does Dr. Bacon disclaim abolitionism. He is ranked with Garrison. In vain does Dr. Porter dissent from Dr. Bacon. He is still an abolitionist. In vain has the Republican party disclaimed abolition. Its President elect is no more acceptable than a Radical Abolitionist.

"Buying off Rebellion." The Tribune has a strong article against "buying off rebellion." This is right. But why

can't the Tribune give us another and as good a one, against buying off man-stealing, woman whipping, and robbing cradles?

BIBLE ARGUMENTS FOR SLAVERY.

The *Brooklyn Times* has the following:

The Bible is the general resort of those who seek for the strongest proofs of the righteousness of slavery. Here is one that we do not remember to have seen printed before.

"To those who claim that the gospel will ultimately break every chain, and liberate every prisoner, granting according to the acceptance of *human rights*, universal freedom, we would quote the 15th verse of the 6th chapter of Revelation which says, 'And the Kings of the earth, and the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, and the mighty men, and every *bond* man and every *free* man, hid themselves in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains.' Now, then, unless the Bible is a cheat, and revelation a lie, no sane man can escape the conclusion that *bondage* will be one of the features of organized society unto the end of time."

[And what then? Wicked men, calling on the rocks and mountains to cover them, will be found, "at the end of time." Is it strange that there should be slaveholders among them? The prediction that Satan "shall be bound for a thousand years," is followed by a further prediction that "he must be loosed for a little season," before the end of time. Of course those would be slaveholders and slaves.—ED. PRINCIPIA.]

CHURCH ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY OF PITTSBURGH, PA.—

We see by the Daily Dispatch of Pittsburgh, that the Church Anti-Slavery Society of that City, has just held its first anniversary. The society numbers fifty-six members, of whom ten are ministers. It was voted to publish the report of the Secretary, Rev. JOHN GREGORY, and to circulate it gratuitously, so that the object of the society may be better understood. The Executive Committee are circulating suitable Anti-Slavery tracts. A monthly meeting is holden for prayer and addresses. President, Rev. SAMUEL B. REED; Vice-President, Rev. J. RODGERS, D. D.; Treas. W. S. RENTOUL.

PETITION.

To the Honorable Senate and Assembly of the State of New York.

The undersigned, citizens of — State of New York, respectfully ask you to put an end to SLAVE HUNTING in New York, by enacting that no person, who has been held as a slave, shall be delivered up, by any officer or court, State or Federal, within the State, to any one claiming him on the ground that he owes "service or labor" to such claimant, by the laws of one of the slave States of this Union.

Orders for blank Petitions, Tracts for gratuitous distribution, also letters relative to lectures, and those containing contributions to the cause, should be addressed to the General Agent, Lydia Mott, Anti-Slavery office, Albany, N. Y.

"Thou shalt NOT deliver unto his master the servant which has escaped from his master unto thee. He shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose in one of thy gates, WHERE IT LIKETH HIM BEST; thou shalt not oppress him."—DEUT. xxiii., 15 16.

Send up long lists of signatures, addressed to some reliable member of the Legislature, or to Lydia Mott, Anti-Slavery office, Albany, N. Y.

The *Chicago Platform*.—The Washington correspondent of the *N. Y. Times*, says:

The admission of New Mexico as a State, "with or without slavery," as the people may determine, would be a measure perfectly harmless to the cause of Freedom; while it would be a most grateful offering to the friends of Union in the Southern States, and would enable them to crush out the spirit of treason. It would involve no abandonment of the *Chicago Platform*. That Platform is not pledged to exclude a State from the Union on account of Slavery—neither is it pledged to abolish Slavery in the Territories by Congress.

The World gives to Mr. Horace Greeley the credit of having shaped this platform, and it is for him to explain why he omitted to insert a Wilmot proviso, and a declaration that "no more Slave States" should be admitted into the Union.

DISCUSSIONS ON THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION in its bearings on slavery, will be held in the Congregational Chapel, corner of South Third and Eleventh streets. The first meeting will be held on Tuesday evening next, at 7 o'clock. Question for discussion. Ought not the

Preamble of the Constitution of the United States—as an epitome of the instrument—to be regarded as authoritative in the interpretation of its specific provisions?

News of the Day.

The furious winds of Thursday, Friday, and Friday night of last week, with intense cold, appear to have prevailed over a wide extent of country. The telegraph wires were deranged, houses were unroofed, and much damage done to shipping. The cold continued severe, on Saturday. On Friday night, at the height of the gale, a fire broke out in Fulton Street, destroyed five or six buildings, and was, with difficulty stayed from extending.

Henry Winter Davis of Maryland, made a strong speech in Congress against secession, in which he said—

"The Constitution and laws of the United States must be enforced, and those who stand across the path of that enforcement must either destroy the power of the United States, or it will destroy them." He declared that Maryland did not recognize the right of Secession, and would maintain the Union by force of arms. His remarks created great excitement, and were warmly applauded by the House and the galleries.

Commercial Suicide. Many hundred thousand bales of cotton were last year transported by railroad from New-Orleans to Northern cities, and a portion of them delivered in New York in fourteen days at a cent per pound for freight. This reversal of the current of trade continues more largely now. Rebellion is driving commerce from New-Orleans, and concentrating it in peaceful Northern ports. Let this reversal become permanently established, and Northern ports and railroads will grow rich as others become poor.—N. Y. Tribune.

Six months hence, should the present troubles continue, the great bulk of the cotton-carrying trade of the seceding seaboard cities will take the inland route to the Eastern States.

The Surrender of the Cutter *McClelland* was in direct defiance of the special dispatches of John A. Dix, Secretary of the Treasury.

Protection of the Capitol. Another company of artillery has arrived, making about 900 in all.—Is that sufficient?

Several Southern conspirators are negotiating for the purchase of a steamer of light draught in New-York, with the purpose of making a demonstration against Tehuantepec and other transit routes.

Trouble in Alabama. According to the accounts, it seems that Upper Alabama is in open rebellion against the Yanceytes while even in the other parts of the State the proceedings at Montgomery are beforehand denounced as the work of designing politicians whose ambition has been foiled by the freemen of the North, and who are now bent on fastening their claws upon the people of the South, whom they wish to reduce to a bondage as appalling as that which oppresses the Africans. Yancey and Cobb have been burned in effigy in several localities: while, on the other hand, the reluctance of Chief-Justice Campbell, of the Supreme Court, to playing into the hands of the rebels, is well known at Montgomery.

Wheat Crop diminishing. The *Tribune* exhibits statistics, showing that, although there is a large wheat crop this year, yet there has been a general decline in the wheat crop, for several years past.

Obstructions in Charleston Harbor. It is said that the obstructions lately made in Charleston harbor, by sinking old hulks of ships, has been swept away by the late storms.—Other accounts consider this incredible.

More Secession. Mr. Vallandigham, dem. Ohio, brought forward "a new medicine for the sick man," in the House. He proposes to divide the republic into four great sections; New England and the Middle States to form one; the Northwestern States, another; the States lying below 36 30, and east of the Rio Grande, another, and the Pacific States a fourth section.

Thurlow Weed of the Albany Evening Journal, having been appointed, by the N. Y. Senate, a commissioner to the Peace Convention at Washington, declined accepting the appointment. Frank Granger has been appointed in his place—an old fogey, ex-anti-mason, ex-anti-slavery, and ex-member of Congress. His anti-masonry and anti-slavery made him—his apostasy from these unmade him.

ST. LOUIS, Friday, Feb. 8, 1861.

The Springfield correspondent of *The Republican* says prominent Republican members of the Illinois Legislature are in favor of signing a remonstrance against Senator Seward going into Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet.

CANTON, N. Y. Friday, Feb. 8, 1861.

R. M. Goddard & Co's. Bank closed yesterday. They turn out their paper to secure their depositors, and bill holders are protected by the pledge of public stock. The cause of the failure is unknown.

A Republican of great weight and influence in the councils of the sound portion of the party in Congress writes us that "the impatience of Republicans for the arrival of the period when Mr. Lincoln will speak for himself increases every hour. Curses loud and deep are everywhere heaped upon those who would demoralize and betray the Republican party into the hands of its enemies by compromises. It is impossible, without a breach of confidence, to express the urgency of these declarations. The greatest apprehension is felt that we shall suffer disaster in the Spring elections now close at hand, unless the compromise demonstrations in the Republican ranks are promptly arrested and repudiated."—*Tribune*.

The Tribune says: We beg the Republican compromisers to stay their hand. We beg them not to consummate the suicide of their principles and their party. The Republicans are masters of the situation. Nothing is wanting but a firm hand and a steady rein, and a most glorious and overwhelming triumph awaits us. Secession will cure itself, and without war or ruin to anybody but those who pertinaciously drag those evils down upon their own heads.

The Anderson case.—*The London Times* calls "attention to the fact that Anderson, the fugitive slave, cannot be taken from Canada to England at present, inasmuch as he cannot be conveyed through American territory, and no other route will be opened before spring.

Capt. Tilton of the U. S. Navy, has committed suicide, on account, it is said, of the distracted state of the country.

The postmaster at Mobile denies, to the Postoffice department, that letters passing through his office have been violated.

Mr. Holt to Col. Hayne.—Mr. Holt closes a correspondence with Col. Hayne, with a letter, of which the following is the conclusion.

The thought you so constantly present, is, that this occupation must lead to a collision of arms, and the prevalence of civil war. Fort Sumter is in itself a military post, and nothing else, and it would seem that not so much the fact as the purpose of its use should give to it a hostile or a friendly character. This fortress is now held by the government of the United States for the same objects for which it has been held from the completion of its construction. These are national and defensive, and were a public enemy now to attempt the capture of Charleston, or the destruction of the commerce of its harbor, the whole force of the batteries of this fortress would be exerted for their protection. How the presence of a small garrison, actuated by such a spirit as this, can compromise the dignity or honor of South Carolina, or become a source of irritation to her people, the President is at a loss to understand. The attitude of that garrison, as has been often declared, is neither menacing nor defiant, nor unfriendly. It is acting under orders to stand strictly on the defensive, and the government and people of South Carolina must well know that they can never receive ought but shelter from its guns, unless in the absence of all provocation they should assault it and seek its destruction. The intent with which this fortress is held by the President is truthfully stated by Senator Davis and others in their letter to yourself, of the 15th of January, in which they say: "It is not held with any hostile or unfriendly purpose toward your state, but merely as property of the United States, which the President deems it his duty to protect and preserve."

If the announcement so repeatedly made of the President's pacific purposes in continuing the occupation of Fort Sumter until the question shall have been settled by competent authority has failed to impress the government of South Carolina, the forbearing conduct of his administration for the last few months should be regarded as conclusive evidence of his sincerity; and if this forbearance, in view of the circumstances which have so severely tried it, be not accepted as a satisfactory pledge of the peaceful policy of this administration toward South Carolina that it may be safely affirmed that neither language, nor conduct can possibly furnish one. If, with all the multiplied proofs which exist of the President's anxiety for peace and the earnestness with which he has pursued it, the authorities of South Carolina shall assault Fort Sumter, and peril the lives of the handful of brave and loyal men shut up within its walls, and thus plunge our country into the horrors of civil war then upon them, and those they represent must rest the responsibility.

Your Obt. servant,

[Signed] J. HOLT, Secretary of War.

To Hon. J. W. HAYNE, Attorney General of the State of South Carolina.

England—supply of Cotton.—A prospectus had been issued in England of an Indian cotton company, for the purpose of supplying the enormous demand for that article in Great Britain.

The Southern Confederacy. The Convention at Montgomery has organized "a Provisional Government for the Confederate States of America," and have elected Jefferson Davis of Mississippi President, and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, Vice-President.—*The Constitution*, at length, appears in the *N. Y. Herald* of Feb. 11, from which we make the following extracts.

Preamble. We, the Deputies of the sovereign and independent States of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, invoking the favor of Almighty God, do hereby, in behalf of these States, ordain and establish this constitution for the provisional government of the same, to continue one year from the inauguration of the President, or until a permanent constitution or confederation between the said States shall be put in operation, whichever shall first occur.

Art. 1, Sect. 7.—1. The importation of African negroes from any foreign country other than the slaveholding States of the Confederate States is hereby forbidden, and Congress is required to pass such laws as shall effectually prevent the same.

2. Congress shall also have power to prohibit the introduction of slaves from any State not a member of this confederacy.

Art. IV, Sect. 3.—A slave in one State escaping to another shall be delivered upon the claim of the party to whom said slave may belong, by the Executive authority of the State in which such slave may be found; and in any case of any abduction or forcible rescue, full compensation, including the value of slave, and all costs and expenses, shall be made to the party by the State in which such abduction or rescue shall take place.

4. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the Confederate States, and nothing in this constitution shall be construed as to prejudice any claims of the Confederate States or of any particular State.

Notice the contrast, to our Federal Constitution.—"We the Deputies"—not "We the people"—a significant fact. Nothing is said of "establishing justice and securing the blessings of liberty." The rendition clause speaks of slaves, not of "persons." They are to be given up, not to those to whom their labor is "due," but to those to whom they may "belong." And nothing is said of their being "held to service and labor under the laws of the State"—there being no such laws.

What a perfect confession that our rendition clause does not describe slaves, and does not apply to them!

So also in respect to the clause concerning Territories. The alternation provides for that "equality of the States" of which we have heard so much—the right to carry slave property into the Territories.

The prohibition of the African slave trade is an evident sop to the slave-growing border States—but will it be acceptable to the rank and file of the seceders, who demand a chance to buy cheap negroes?

So much for the pretense that the seceding States would adopt the Federal Constitution, entire.—This model was doubtless intended to foreshadow the "amendments" of the Constitution required of "the North" as a condition of "reconstruction" and re-union.—But the "Deputies" should have looked a little closer, into the matter. They should have stricken out the guaranty of a Republican form of Government, the habeas corpus, the due process of law, the prohibition of bills of attainder, ex post facto laws, and laws impairing the obligation of contracts. As this is only a "Provisional Government"—its provisions will doubtless undergo the necessary revision, in due time.

Toronto, C. W., Feb. 9.—The case of Anderson, the fugitive slave, was argued at great length to-day by eminent counsel, and the case is still going on to-night. No decision will be given probably, till next week, but the general impression, is, that the court will liberate the prisoner on a technicality in the commitment.

Memphis, Tenn., Feb. 9.—News is received here that the Little Rock (Ark.) arsenal, containing nine thousand stand of arms, a large amount of ammunition and forty cannon, including Capt. Bragg's battery, were surrendered to the state authorities of Arkansas yesterday.

The arsenal is now garrisoned by a hundred volunteers.

Seizure of five New York vessels at Savannah. Col. Lawton, the military commander at Savannah, Ga., acting under the instructions of Gov. Brown, on Saturday seized and detained as a reprisal for the seizure of muskets at New York, five New York vessels at that port—the barks *Adjuster* and *D. Colden Murray*, the brigs *W. R. Kibby*, and *Golden Lead*, and the schooner *Julia A. Hallock*. The news created great excitement here and in Washington. Hon. John Cochrane, it will be seen, promptly offered in Congress a resolution of inquiry. A telegram received last evening from Charleston states that Gov. Pickens has received a dispatch from Savannah declaring that the vessels have been released. We shall probably learn the truth or falsity of this report to-day.—*N. Y. Times of Monday*.

Subsequent dispatches state that Gov. Brown released the vessels, because their seizure had produced the desired effect, namely, had procured the giving up, and forwarding of the arms seized by the police of New York, as being destined to treasonable uses in Georgia. Can this be true? We have heard of no contradiction of the statement. It will be recollected that Judge Smalley of the United States District Court, for the District of New York, had charged the Grand Jury, that it was treasonable to furnish or transport arms to rebels against the Government. In conformity with this charge, some arms about to be shipped to Georgia, were seized by the police of New York, for which an apology was made to the traitor Toombs by Mayor Wood, of New York, regretting that he had not the control of the

police. The next step was the official demand of Gov. Brown of Georgia on Gov. Morgan of New York, for the delivery of the arms, to which demand, no answer, we believe, has transpired. Next came the seizure of the New York vessels, and finally, their release, because the arms had been relinquished—on what authority does not appear.

So the Federal Government and the State of New York, succumb to the Governor of Georgia, in other words, to the majesty of the petty oligarchy of slaveholders. This reminds us of a paragraph, which we had just read, and now clip from the Brooklyn Times.

The *Liberator*, rapid anti-slavery paper, says that "of all insane follies, the most frantic is that which contemplates the forcible subjugation of the seceding States. South Carolina alone can, and will, defy the whole United States in arms."

Considering the servility with which the North, and the Nation bows down to the majesty of the slaveholders (and which the *Liberator*, doubtless, had in mind) we are inclined to think the *Liberator* was correct, and that facts are proving it to be so. What are thirty millions of dough-faces, calling themselves free, and yet tolerating slavery, in the presence of their two hundred thousand masters? Nothing! Less than nothing, and vanity. Thus it will be, till the people determine to abolish slavery.

South Carolina, is reported to be restive under the new Confederacy, with Jeff. Davis as President. The business of taking Fort Sumter will now be adjourned to Montgomery, where it will be voted, soon after which South Carolina is expected to secede.—*Tribune*. (J. S. P.)

The Tennessee election has gone largely for the Union, and the Legislature of Kentucky has adjourned over to March 20, refusing to call a Convention at all.

Kansas. It has been already announced that there is a bill before the Assembly of New York appropriating \$100,000 for the relief of the starving people of Kansas. This bill would have passed the Assembly on Tuesday of last week, but for the persistent opposition of Democratic members, prominent among whom was Mr. Kernan of Oneida, the acknowledged leader of the Democracy in the House.—*Tribune*.

Certain distinguished Virginians telegraphed Gov. Pickens, requesting him still to forbear assaulting Fort Sumter. The Governor replies that he would take into respectful consideration any suggestion from them, but he could give no definite answer until he shall receive the President's communication, and ascertain the grounds of the latter's refusal to surrender Fort Sumter.

ALBANY, Saturday, Feb. 9, 1861.

The Assembly held a session last evening to consider the bill making an appropriation of \$500,000 to arm the State. When the Assembly had reached the consideration of this bill, Mr. Hardy of New York offered an amendment providing for a tax of five-sixteenths of a mill on each dollar of the real and personal property of the State to meet the half million which the bill appropriates, and briefly advocated the proposition.

After debate, the bill was passed to a third reading.

Gen. Wool, one of the New York Conference delegation, will require guarantees that the Capitol shall not be interfered with by seceding States before he will assent to any plan of reconciliation.

The testimony of ex-Senator Benjamin, of Louisiana, is said to be the strongest adduced against Secretary Floyd, concerning the acceptances, which will amount to several millions more than the public have any idea of.

Reports received here to-day partially confirm the statement that Fort Sumter has been reinforced by a small number of men.—*Post of Monday*.

The twenty-eight cases of Minie rifles seized by Police Superintendent, Kennedy, were the property of the State Bank, Hartford, Connecticut. The arms are said to have come into the possession of the bank, upon the failure of Robbins & Lawrence, of Windsor, Vermont, and were sold to the State of Georgia. These arms have not been delivered, as some of the morning papers assert, but an order for their delivery was received last Thursday.—*Post, Monday*.

What right has the State Bank of Hartford, to sell rifles to rebels against the government?

The President Elect, left his home in Springfield, Ill., for the seat of Government at 7.30 A. M. on Monday, the 11th inst., accompanied by a large concourse of people to the depot, where nearly one thousand citizens had already collected. After he had shaken hands with a number of friends he took his stand on a platform near, and spoke as follows:

My friends:—No one not in my position can appreciate the sadness I felt at this parting. To this people I owe all that I am. Here I have lived more than a quarter of a

century; here my children were born, and here one of them lies buried. I know not how soon I shall see you again. A duty devolves upon me, which is, perhaps, greater than that which has devolved upon any other man since the days of Washington. He never would have succeeded except for the aid of Divine Providence, upon which he at all times relied. I feel that I cannot succeed without the same Divine aid which sustained him, and in the same Almighty Being I place my reliance for support, and I hope you, my friends, will all pray that I may receive that divine assistance, without which I cannot succeed, but, with which, success is certain. Again, I bid you all an affectionate farewell. (Loud applause, and cries of "We will pray for you.")

During the speech, Mr. Lincoln betrayed much emotion and the crowd was affected to tears. The train left at precisely 8½ o'clock.

At Indianapolis, the train halted, and he was welcomed by Gen. Morton. While in that village, Mr. Lincoln addressed the citizens as follows:

Fellow-Citizens of the State of Indiana: I am here to thank you much for this magnificent welcome, and still more for the very generous support given by your State, to that political cause which I think is the true and just cause of the whole country and the whole world. Solomon says, "There is a time to keep silence," and when men wrangle by the month with no certainty that they mean the same thing while using the same word, it perhaps were as well if they would keep silence. The words "coercion" and "invasion" are much used in these days, and often with some temper and hot blood. Let us make sure, if we can, that we do not misunderstand the meaning of those who use them. Let us get the exact definitions of these words, not from dictionaries, but from the men themselves, who certainly deprecate the things they would represent by the use of the words.

What, then, is "coercion"? What is "invasion"? Would the marching of an army into South Carolina, without the consent of her people, and with hostile intent toward them, be invasion? I certainly think it would; and "coercion" also, if the South Carolinians were forced to submit. But if the United States should merely hold and retake its own forts, and other property, and collect the duties on foreign importations, or even withhold the mails from places where they were habitually violated, would any or all these things be "invasion" or "coercion"? Do our professed lovers of the Union, but who spitefully resolve that they will resist coercion and invasion, understand that such things as these on the part of the United States would be coercion or invasion of a State? If so, their idea of means to preserve the object of their great affection would seem to be exceedingly thin and airy. If sick, the little pills of the homeopathist would be much too large for it to swallow. In their view, the Union, as a family relation, would seem to be no regular marriage, but rather a sort of free-love arrangement, to be maintained on passionate attraction. By the way, in what consists the special sacredness of a State? I speak not of the position assigned to a State in the Union by the Constitution, for that, by the bond, we all recognize. That position, however, a State cannot carry out of the Union with it. I speak of that assumed primary right of a State to rule all which is less than itself, and to ruin all which is larger than itself. If a State and a county, in a given case, should be equal in extent of territory and equal in number of inhabitants, in what, as a matter of principle, is the State better than the county? Would an exchange of names be an exchange of rights? Upon principle, on what rightful principle, may a State, being no more than one-fiftieth part of the nation in soil and population, break up the nation and then coerce a proportionably larger subdivision of itself, in the most arbitrary way? What mysterious right to play tyrant is conferred on a district of country with its people by merely calling it a State? Fellow-citizens, I am not asserting anything. I am merely asking questions for you to consider. And now allow me to bid you farewell.

From Indianapolis Mr. Lincoln proceeded to Cincinnati, where he addressed the citizens, and said:

"I have spoken but once before this, in Cincinnati. That was a year previous to the late Presidential election. On that occasion, in a playful manner, but with small words, I addressed much of what I said to the Kentuckians. I gave my opinion that we, as Republicans, would ultimately beat them, as Democrats, but that they could postpone that result longer by nominating Senator Douglas to the Presidency, than they could in any other way. They did not, in any true sense of the word, nominate Mr. Douglas, and the result has come, certainly, as soon as ever I expected. I also told them how I expected they would be treated after they should have been beaten; and I now wish to call their attention to what I then said upon that subject. I then said, 'When we do as we say, beat you, you perhaps want to know what we will do with you. I will tell you, as far as I am authorized to speak for the Opposition, what we mean to do with you. We mean to treat you as near as we possibly can, as Washington, Jefferson and Madison treated you. We mean to leave you alone, and in no way to interfere with your institutions; to abide by all and every compromise of the Constitution; and, in a word, coming back to the original proposition, to treat you so far as degenerate men, if we have degenerated, may, according to the example of those noble fathers, Washington, Jefferson and Madison. We mean to remember that you are as good as we; that there is no difference between us, other than the difference of circumstances. We mean to recognize and bear in mind always that you have as good hearts in your bosoms as other people, or as we claim to have, and treat you accordingly.'

Fellow-citizens of Kentucky! friends! brethren, may I call you, in my new position, I see no occasion, and feel no inclination to retract a word of this. If it shall not be made good, be assured the fault shall not be mine."

Our special dispatch from Washington states that messenger from Pensacola, bearing dispatches to the government, had reached that city. He states that the Brooklyn had landed provisions at Fort Pickens, and was lying off the fort. The

Wyandotte was coaling at the government wharf. The report of an armistice between the state troops and Lieut. Slemmer was not true in any sense. The withdrawal of the troops was unconditional, so far as Lieut. Slemmer was concerned.—*The World*.

Our advices from Washington indicate that the most probable solution of the discussions now going on there will be a National Convention, called in a regular and constitutional manner. To such a Convention, properly called and fairly elected, we see no serious objection, though we will not undertake to guarantee that its result will be exactly what its projectors desire and expect.—*Tribune*.

Congress—House of Representatives. Mr. Palmer, of New York, introduced two resolutions, the first declaring that neither the Federal Government nor the people of the Northern States have a purpose or constitutional right to interfere with Slavery in any State of the Union, and the other asserting that the number of people in the North not subscribing to the sentiments of the first were too insignificant in number to be worthy of notice. These resolutions excited a very lively debate, but the first one finally passed by a vote of 106 to 4—not a quorum. Further debate and explanations then ensued, and it was again passed, 116 to 4. A reconsideration was carried, and after still further debate, Mr. Sherman, of Ohio, offered a substitute, declaring that neither Congress nor the Legislatures of non-slaveholding States have the right to legislate upon the subject of Slavery in the slaveholding States. This appeared to give satisfaction to everybody, and it was passed unanimously. Mr. Palmer's second resolution was not considered—it being superseded by that of Mr. Sherman.

If this is all the "compromise" that is to be adopted in Congress, we shall be thankful—not that the sentiment is not abhorrent to us, but that it has no legal or binding force.—It is a mere Resolution of the members then present, which any future Congress may reverse, and binding nobody, even while it stands. Let the Constitution remain, and we are content. And the people, we are persuaded, will not consent to amend it, in favor of slavery.

Resolutions introduced by Hon. Mr. McKean, of New-York— Whereas, The Gulf States have assumed to secede from the Union, and it is deemed important to prevent the Border Slave States from following their example; and whereas it is believed that those who are inflexibly opposed to any measure of compromise or concession that involves a sacrifice of principle or the extension of Slavery would nevertheless cheerfully concur in any lawful measure for the emancipation of the Slaves; therefore

Resolved, That the Select Committee of Five be instructed to inquire whether, by the consent of the people, or of the State Governments, or by compensating the slaveholders, it be practicable for the General Government to secure the emancipation of the slaves in some or all of the Border States, and if so, to report a bill for that purpose.

The Floyd Robbery is now believed to amount to between five and six millions of dollars. So much comes of committing the funds of the nation to the hands of those who rob the poor laborers of their wages.

The Government is eight millions in debt beyond the means of payment. So says the Secretary, Mr. Dix, to the Committee of Ways and Means. Proposals are issued for subscriptions to that amount of Government stock.

Hon. W. L. Yancey, one of the apostles of secession, announces his determination of retiring to private life. Pity he had not done it sooner.

The "Peace" Convention at Washington have thrown a fire brand of agitation into the nation. They recommend that the Constitution be so amended as to give all the Territories South of 36° 30' to slavery, admit slave States, and deprive Congress of the power of abolishing slavery in the States, or in the District of Columbia without leave from Maryland and Virginia.

Now for a fresh agitation of the Constitutional question—with the concession that the present Constitution is an abolition Constitution!

Mr. Jefferson Davis, in a speech made since his election to the Presidency of the "Confederate States of America," has declared that if civil war shall result from the present commotions, the battle will be fought on Northern soil, because of the superior prowess and military habits of the slaveholders.

Mr. Sumner made a short speech, Feb. 12, "protesting" forcibly against all compromises, and arguing that the Crittendon propositions were worse than the Breckinridge platform!

[True! And Seward's proposals were, in some respects, worse than either.]

The electoral votes have been duly counted, and Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin officially declared elected President and Vice President of the United States, before the assembled Senate and House of Representatives, Vice-President Breckenridge presiding.

Distress in Charleston.—Intelligence from Charleston states that there is great distress among the working classes, who, beside suffering for want of employment, are compelled to do military duty and be withdrawn from their families. Insubordination and other causes have led to the declaration of martial law on Sullivan's Island.

The plot against the Capitol.—Mr. Howard's Committee have reported that there is abundant evidence of the discussion of plans to seize the Capitol, and prevent the inauguration of the President elect.

The breaking up of the ice in the Hudson river has caused an inundation in Albany, and done much damage.

Another seizure of arms, about to be shipped South, has been made by the Metropolitan police of New York.

Family Miscellany.

For the Principia.

A PICTURE.

A world of still, dark beauty
Lay sleeping in her eyes,
As though some dream of midnight
Had chained them in surprise.
And her softened glance, and earnest,
Seemed ever inward turned,
Watching some spirit vestal
On sacred altar burned.
The heart's pure flame ascending,
From mingled offerings there,—
Deep thoughts, and high imaginings,
And sweetest psalms and prayer.
All o'er her constant praises
The rarest pearls are strown,
Gems from the soul's deep places,
And from the mind's fair throne:
Jewels of thought and beauty
Drop from her lips and glow
In her dark eyes, and round her brow
A soul-lit lustre throw.
O face inspired, and lovely,
Beam o'er the world's low ways,
Till won by thy sweet beauty,
Men shall follow thy rapt gaze;
And with eyes unblinded—seeing—
Read the lesson thou would'st teach,
The mission of thy loveliness,
Its deeper meaning reach!

Emma J.

For the Principia.

STORY FOR THE LITTLE FOLKS.

CHAPTER IX.

Dear children, in my last, I told you that God ordained civil government for the good of mankind, and that without it society could not exist. Let us now listen to the words of the great king, contained in Rom. 13 ch. 3 and 4 verses. "For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? (civil authority.) Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same. For he (the ruler) is the minister of God to thee for good."

But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid, for he beareth not the sword in vain; for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil."

From which it appears that it is the appropriate business of civil government to protect all persons, in the possession and enjoyment of their rights, and especially to protect the good and virtuous from all harm; and to punish the guilty invaders of our rights with an adequate penalty, and according to the principles of justice and equity.

Man having been made to love, worship and obey his Creator, it is the duty of government to shield and protect him in the discharge of this, his highest duty and privilege; but it has no right to prescribe the form in which he shall do it.

It is its duty to foster and encourage all that is moral, intelligent, virtuous and lovely, and to discountenance all that is vicious and wrong. And it should be regarded as commissioned of God, to do this very work.

WILLIE. We are told that the government of Austria is used to wrong and oppress the people; was that form of government ordained of God?

I think not, Willie. That is a despotism, exercising the power and authority of civil government to tyrannize over, wrong and oppress those whom it should protect and defend. Therefore it is a perversion of power, similar to that in the slaveholding States of our own country.

MARY. Has Congress any right to make a law forbidding me to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, relieve the distressed, or requiring me to do that which God has commanded me not to do?

No, Mary. The King of Glory is the great law-giver of the universe, and He has given no man, or body of men, any right to make laws requiring us to disobey his holy commands. To do it would be rebellion against the King of kings. And those men who enacted that bill of abominations, called the fugitive slave law, had no more right to do it, than they had to lie, steal or murder. And those who have executed it, had no more right to do so, than they had to engage in piracy or murder.

And if our government should consent to compromise principle now, to please the oppressors of the poor, it would prove itself a traitor to both God and humanity; and posterity would place the names of the guilty actors beneath that of Benedict Arnold.

Our Heavenly Father has established a just rule of conduct, and he requires the government and the governed all

to conform their actions thereunto; and from this obligation there is no escape.

Dear children, remember these things, for the hour is coming when you will need to understand them.

Affectionately yours,

MAPLE COTTAGE, Feb. 6, 1861.

DEACON T—

THE NEW PHILANTHROPIST.

WHAT RAREY TEACHES MEN IN TEACHING HORSES.

The *Christian Inquirer* awards to Mr. Rarey the credit of being more than a tamer of horses. He is a philanthropist and a philosopher, and teaches men suggestive lessons. This new application of the Rarey theory is thus set forth:

"He is a humanitarian reformer; and many of the ideas which, in plain and forcible language, he utters with the hearty eloquence of earnestness and sincerity, are capable of a large, round-about application to men as well as horses. His method of educating Cruiser would be equally good for Master Tommy; and the reformer who seeks to hurl the evils of the world overboard, might take a useful lesson from his 'masterly inactivity,' and readiness to allow the horse to take time to think, examine, and make up his mind.

"Some of his sentences are maxims of wisdom:

"Nature never lies."

"The horse is honest."

"The mind of a horse governs a horse, as the mind of a man governs a man. If you wish, therefore, to get control of the horse's body, first learn to direct his mind."

"The gentle touch is more powerful than blows."

"Women are better drivers than men, because they have a gentler touch."

"Firmness and kindness are all the magic there is in my method."

"Fear or anger in the mind of his driver is instantly known to the horse."

"The fact is, that, without knowing it, Mr. Rarey is a genius—a great discoverer. His way of obtaining control and guidance of the horse-force of the world according to normal principles, is as good a discovery in that sphere as the invention of methods to control and apply steam, fire water, gas, electricity, in natural mechanics. He will rank hereafter with Morse, Fulton, Franklin, and others illustrious men, who have learned how to direct the great forces of the world, before running, comparatively, to waste, into the channels of human improvement and happiness. The problem is, how to take hold of the horse-power by the handle, as Providence designed we should—not by the edge, as course, blundering men usually do."—*Evening Post*.

There is much of truth in the above, undoubtedly, but it is not the whole truth. The horse is still found as his Creator first made him, which is more than can be said of man. The instincts of the horse are natural, but those of man are perverted. The horse never had a moral nature to be perverted. The horse knoweth his owner, and the ass his masters crib, but Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider. Rarey cannot tame men, as he tames horses, though it is doubtless true that sympathy and kindness should be employed in the education and government of them.

A MILLIONAIRE'S MUSINGS.

"Hem! I've grown a little hard of hearing, of late, but I caught that, just as the two men turned round the corner. There goes old Morgan the Millionaire, rich as Croesus and hard as iron; wonder what good the money he grips so tight will do him, a score of years hence?"

"And so that's what men say of me, is it?—Morgan the old Millionaire? And I've spent my own life—all the hopes of my youth, the strength of my manhood, and the years of my old age—for this!"

"It's a fact, I'm a millionaire this day. John Morgan, your hairs are gray, and your face is seamed with wrinkles, and your life has slipped over its seventieth birthday, and in houses and lands, in bank stock and railroad shares, in coal mines and heavy cargoes, you can count down this day your hard million of dollars."

"It sounds strange enough, as I repeat the words over, and go back to the time when I worked on Squire Mason's farm for six dollars a month and my board. I said I'd be a rich man then, some day, and I bent myself to the task, soul and body, night and day. I toiled early and late and I've got a million of dollars to show for it."

"It was a hard struggle, but I was sharp, and watched my chance, and luck favored me. I don't like to think of all the strings I pulled to get money, for if a man's bent on making it, he musn't be squeamish: and though I was sometimes a little hard, and shaved here, and took advantage there, still, I wasn't worse than other men, and I was always certain to keep inside the law."

"And now, men will bow and cringe to me and almost go down on their knees to get my name to their paper, and say hard things of me and behind my back, and when I die I don't suppose there's a living soul that would shed an honest tear over me, though I shall be certain to lie under the shadow of a great marble monument."

"Somehow, sitting here in my office this morning, and looking back over my life, it doesn't seem as if the million of dollars had paid, after all; but when the greed and the thirst for gain get possession of a man, everything else must go—fear of God and love of man; his life and soul must be given up to business."

"I am an old man, and a millionaire, and I shall be dropping into my grave in a little while, and I've got precious little capital to take into another world, for I fancy 'Rich Man' don't read there as it does here."

"I don't like to think of my home, my wife, my children! Poor Mary! she was a sweet, simple hearted girl when I took her in her fair young girlhood, to walk with me all the days of my life. I promised to love, and cherish, and protect her, but I buried myself up in business, and seldom had a loving word or a smile for the home to which I went every night cold, and silent, and crusty!"

"I can't blame her if she turned at last to the world, and sought rest in her aching heart for dress, and show and splendor, and became at last, a vain, heartless, fashionable woman."

"What a palace home we had! My money filled it with luxury, but the gold didn't bring happiness! and I don't like to think of that last hour of my wife's, when she woke out of her long fever, and gasped out, 'John, I'm an old woman, and I'm going to leave you, and my life's been a terrible mistake—I see it all now—a terrible mistake.'"

"I don't like to think of my children, either. There are my boys, miserable, dissipated spendthrifts—counting on the years before the old man will be gone, so they can make his money fly; there are my daughters, married fops and fortune hunters, proud, showy, silly women, their whole life consisting in dress, and parties, and splendid follies."

"And this is to be an old man and a millionaire! I wonder if it pays! I wonder, if I could go back to the years of my youth again, if I would give all my life to heaping up the gold that has only wrought an old age of bitter memories for me, a death of anguish for my wife, and ruin for the children God gave us."

"No, it doesn't pay; but it's too late to alter things now, and the best I can do is to leave a hundred thousand dollars in my Will, to endow some orphan asylum."

"It'll make hot work among the heirs when they hear of it, but the old man won't sleep the less sound for all the noise they'll make over his Will, and it'll seem like making a little compensation for some days in my life that I don't quite like to face. But, after all, a million of dollars don't pay—it don't pay!"—*The World we live in*.

POISON ANTIDOTE.

It is now over twenty years since I learned that sweet oil would cure the bite of a rattlesnake, not knowing that it would cure any other poison. Practice, observation and experience have taught me that it will cure poison of any kind, both man and beast. I think no farmer should be without a bottle of it in his house. The patient must take a spoonful internally and bathe the wound for a cure. To cure a horse it requires eight times as much it does a man. Here let me say of one of the most extreme cases of snake-bite in this neighborhood, eleven years ago this summer, where the case had been over thirty hours standing, and the patient given up by his physician, I heard of it, carried the oil, gave him one spoonful which created a cure. It is an antidote for arsenic and strychnine. It will cure bloat in cattle, caused by eating too freely of fresh clover; it will cure the sting of bees, spider, or any insects; and it will also cure persons who have been poisoned by a low running vine growing in meadows called ivy.—[A farmer.]

SOME TRUTH IN IT.

The man who has never had a sister, is, at his first entrance into life, far more the slave of feminine captivations than he who has been brought up in a house full of girls. He who has not had sisters, has had no experiences of the behind-scene life of the female world; he has never heard one syllable about the plans, and schemes, and devices by which hearts are snared. He fancies Mary stuck that moss rose in her hair in a moment of childish caprice; that Kate ran after her little sister and showed the prettiest of ankles in doing it, out of the irrepressible gaiety of her buoyant spirits. In a word, he is one who only sees the play when the house is fully lighted and all the actors in their grand costume; he has never witnessed a rehearsal, and has not the very vaguest suspicion of a prompter. To him, therefore, who has only experienced the rough companionship of brothers—or worse still, has lived entirely alone—the first acquaintanceship with young lady world is such a fascination as no words can describe. The gentle look, the graceful features, the silvery voices, all the play and action of natures so infinitely more refined than any he has ever witnessed, are inexpressibly captivating. It is not alone the occupations of their hours, light, graceful and picturesque as they are, but all their topics, their thoughts, seem to soar out of that common-place world he has lived in, and rise to ideal realms of poetry and beauty. Nothing so truly Elysian in life as our first—our very first—experience of this kind.

SWEET APPLE PUDDING.

An excellent pudding is made with sweet apples, sliced in a dish, a batter of Indian meal, made by stirring it into boiling milk first, to scald and get the proper thickness, and then pour it warm upon the apples.—First scatter sugar among the apples and stir some into the batter.—We cook ours without any other seasoning, except sugar. The milk should be sweet and good, and when it is baked, eaten with butter or sweet cream. Bake slowly a couple of hours.

SLANDER.—Mr. What-do-you-call-him says his wife told him that 'he had been informed Mr. Stick-in-the-mud's wife's cousin had heard how that Mrs. Tattle guessed she saw somebody go into Wiggins' house, when nobody could have been there but Mrs. Wiggins. We hardly credit the report, but feel it our duty to circulate it.

FRAGMENT OF ARABIC POETRY.—An Arabian having brought a blush to a maiden's cheek by the earnestness of his gaze, said to her; "My looks have planted roses in your cheeks; why forbid me to gather them? The law permits him who sows to reap the harvest."

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